

## THE “LATE” Khabur ware PROBLEM ONCE AGAIN

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*“Despite his more recent revisions, Hrouda’s ‘older’ and ‘younger’ Khabur ware groups remain in a general sense viable and useful concepts.” [Postgate, Oates & Oates 1997: p.54].*

Since Barthel Hrouda brought up the concept of “*jüngere* (younger)” Khabur ware [1957], more than forty years have passed. It is more than a decade since Diana L. Stein proposed to give a new definition to “younger” Khabur ware in connection with her clarifying a definition of Nuzi ware [1984], which induced Hrouda to revise his view on “*jüngere*” Khabur ware and Nuzi ware [1989]. However, the disputed problem of how to define a later variety of Khabur ware is still unsolved and unsettled. In fact, the most recent study suggests that the use of Hrouda’s concept of “*jüngere*” Khabur ware is yet feasible [Pfälzner 1995: p.46].

When treating Khabur ware particularly from later phases, we are always confronted with such a vexed problem, and further, we are apt to be thrown into confusion. Now that we recognize that concepts so far given to painted pottery in terms of a later variety of Khabur ware by several authorities differ in many respects, though overlapping in some respects as the case may be, we are urged to choosing one among the concepts, when we, using the term “*jüngere*”/“late” Khabur ware, if provisionally, *versus* the term “*ältere*”/“early” Khabur ware, attempt to establish the stylistic/chronological subdivision of this particular painted pottery, *i.e.*, Khabur ware. One may, on the other hand, lay stress on the necessity of later Khabur ware being re-defined. Indeed, the dating of the end of Khabur ware, as well as the phasing of its sequence, depends on a definition given to later Khabur ware or its group.

Well known as pioneering works and studies in which painted pottery regarded as later Khabur ware was referred to are M.E.L. Mallowan’s [1947], Barthel Hrouda’s [1957] and Helene J. Kantor’s [1958], in which the painted pottery in question is referred to as “late” Khabur ware, “*jüngere*” Khabur ware and “transitional Khabur-Mitannian” ware, respectively. These concepts have been variously cited until now, while they have aroused controversy. Thus, that the points of arguments so far adduced for conceptualizing later Khabur ware are elucidated may be the first necessary step towards finding a clue to the satisfactory solution of the matter in dispute. Such an elucidation is the main purpose of the present article<sup>1)</sup>, which presumably affords the basis for giving reconsideration to problems relevant to later Khabur ware. For this purpose, recent arguments should of course come up.

**History of scholarship on later Khabur ware**

A class of painted pottery was found in quantity through German excavations at Aššur between 1903 and 1914 under the direction of Walter Andrae<sup>2)</sup>; and it was also recovered, from the late 1920’s to the

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1) In terminology, authorities’ own terms for denoting painted pottery relevant to the matter in question are used here unless inconvenient for explanation in the present article. In other cases, it is described simply as later Khabur ware or a later variety of Khabur ware without precise meaning, only for convenience of discussion.

2) The same kind of painted pottery, later called Khabur ware, is said to occur also at Tell Halaf, excavated by Max Freiherr von Oppenheim between 1899 and 1929 [Mallowan 1937: p.145; Kantor 1958: n.17 on p.26]. Mallowan points out that among the so-called “Kapara period” (Iron Age) pottery vessels of Tell Halaf, there is an example suspected as Khabur ware [Mallowan 1937: p.145, illustrating this with von Oppenheim 1931: Pl.LV:1 on p.213]. The evidence is, however, equivocal.



mid-1930's, through British excavations at Nineveh and through American excavations at Nuzi, Gawra and Billa. During these excavations in north Iraq, however, no specific name was given to the painted pottery. In 1935 M.E.L. Mallowan began excavations at Chagar Bazar in the upper Khabur basin in northeast Syria; and in carrying out three campaigns there, he found in relative abundance the same kind of painted pottery that had already been discovered in north Iraq. Immediately after his second campaign (1936), Mallowan proposed terming the painted pottery "Khabur ware", noting that it was densely distributed over the upper Khabur basin [1937: p.103]. Since then, with his proposal generally accepted [*e.g.* Hrouda 1957: p.22], this term has been used to describe a homogeneous painted ceramic group of the early second millennium B.C. in northern Mesopotamia<sup>3)</sup>.

When coining the term "Khabur ware", Mallowan also defined it firstly as wheel-made, mono-chrome- and matt-painted pottery, consisting "largely of vases intended to carry liquids", *i.e.*, vessels considered to be used for storage purposes, with the details given secondly as follows [1937: pp.102–103]:

- (1) The vessel shape is, on the whole, characterized by large jars with wide mouths, high necks, flat bases and more or less globular bodies, although there are a few examples of which the necks are shorter.
- (2) Other vessel types are recognized as distinctive-shaped carinated bowls, and as small jars and pots, small shouldered bowls, miniature jars, pots and bowls, and small thin-walled vessels considered to be used for drinking purposes, among which "more delicate types of vases" occur.
- (3) The ware-fabric, occasionally known as paste, shows a considerable variation; it ranges from coarse buff ware to well-refined pinkish or creamy ware.
- (4) The paint is red, reddish brown or black.
- (5) The designs usually consist of simple geometric motifs: — plain horizontal bands, hatched or cross-hatched triangles, and their combining sometimes with dots, plain hatching or cross-hatching, zigzags, and V's. There are also examples bearing a design of short strokes on the rim; and further, there is an only example with a naturalistic motif such as a tree, combined with cross-hatched triangles and dots. These decorative motifs are usually applied to the upper part of the vessel, but sometimes to the lower part.

These descriptions of Mallowan's, given on the basis of the ceramic material from Chagar Bazar level 1, have been often cited as the introductory explanation or the primary definition of Khabur ware in related studies.

On the basis of modification and changes observed in the building plans of level 1 of Chagar Bazar, on the other hand, Mallowan subdivided the level into five occupation phases: (A) the early, (B) the early intermediate, (C) the intermediate, (D) the late, and (E) the latest phase [1937: pp.94–95 and p.114; 1947: pp.83–84]. Assigned to phases A–D were also graves containing good examples of Khabur ware, which composed a large part of the Khabur ware material illustrated in the reports<sup>4)</sup>. These phases were also tentatively dated, except for the upper date of phase A (*ca.* 1800 B.C.), which was determined by datable cuneiform tablets discovered. In connection with Nuzi ware, characterized by white-painted decoration superimposed on dark-painted bands, the latest Phase, E, was regarded as dating from *ca.* 1550 B.C. Thus, phase A was dated *ca.* 1800–1750 B.C.; phase B, *ca.* 1750–1700

3) There is a case where the term "Khabur" is used to describe not only the pottery but also the chronological period in which it was in fashion, inasmuch as a historical nomenclature, appropriate for the period, has not yet been fully provided [Kantor 1958: n.\* on pp.21–22; Ball 1990b: p.7; *cf.* for example, Ball 1987: p.79, using the term "Khabur period", and Mallowan 1946: p.133 and Weiss 1985b: p.271 and p.276, using the term "Khabur ware period"].

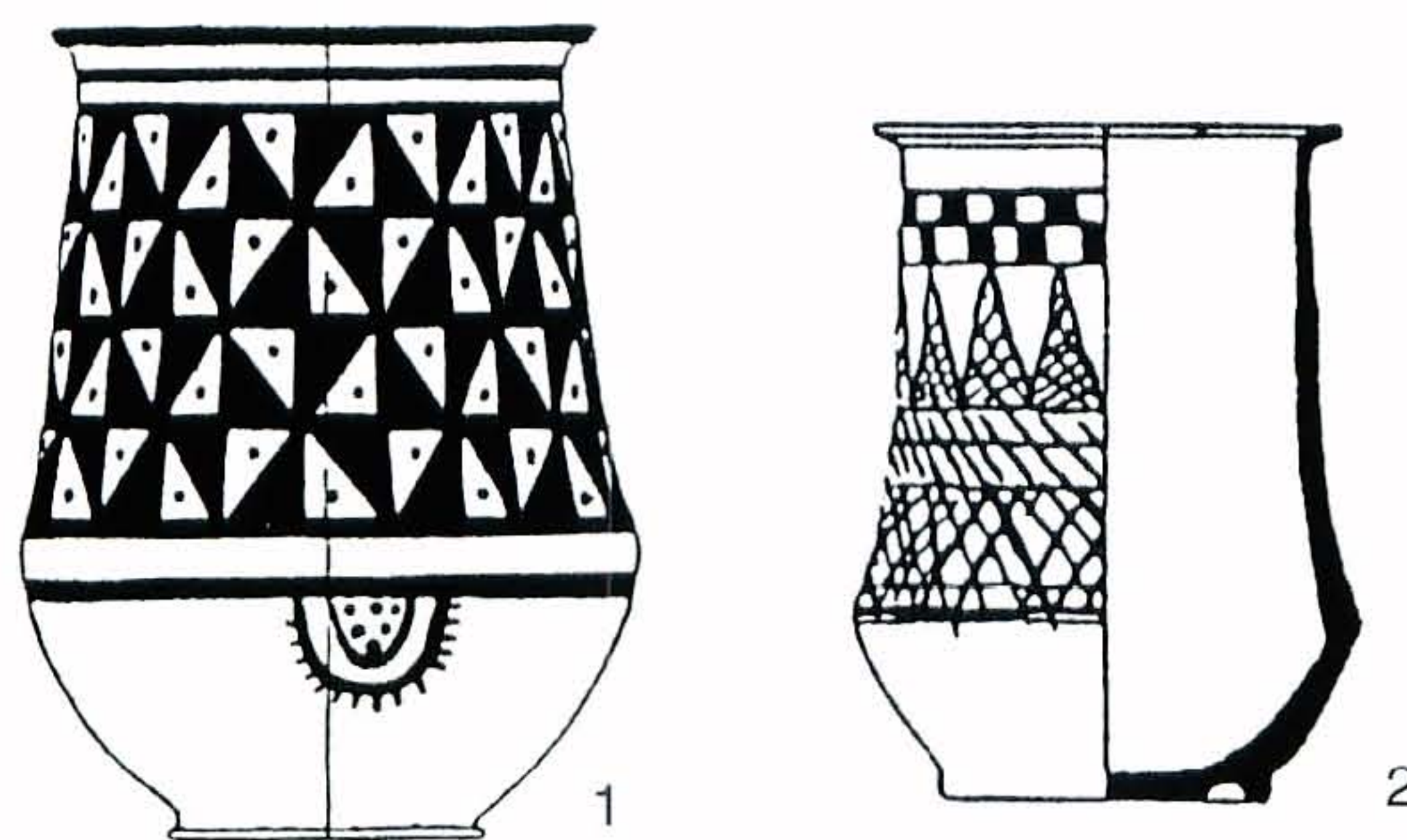
4) Problematical is the fact that most of the Khabur ware material illustrated by Mallowan is that which came from graves, which would presumably been difficult to date in accordance with the phasing of level 1. This prevents our relying on Mallowan's information on the sequence of Khabur ware, derived from the excavations at Chagar Bazar. In fact, one points out that "the dating of the many 2nd millennium graves at Chagar Bazar is unclear" [*The British School of Archaeology in Iraq, Newsletter No.1, May 1998: p.3*].



B.C.; phase C, *ca.* 1700–1650 B.C.; and phase D, *ca.* 1650–1550 B.C. According to Mallowan, “more delicate painted types” begin to appear in phase B, “smaller and thinner-walled” varieties of Khabur ware become predominant in phase D, while coarser and larger varieties of Khabur ware, appearing in phase A and becoming abundant in phases B and C, disappear in phase E, to which a Nuzi ware sherd recovered in 1935 was hypothetically assigned<sup>5)</sup> [Mallowan 1947: p.84]. This observation of Mallowan’s was regarded as important thereafter, also becoming one of the points at issue that are addressed below.

### *Arguments in 1937–1958*

As mentioned above, through the excavations at Chagar Bazar, Mallowan noted that “carefully made smaller vessels” with “very delicate walls” came into vogue towards the end of the period of Khabur ware being in use [1937: p.102]. Subsequently, Marian Welker also referred to this, and described them as “the finer ware which appeared in Mesopotamia at the end of the Khabur phase” [1948: p.209]. These are generally accepted as the first descriptions of a later variety of Khabur ware [Hamlin 1971: pp.21–23; D.L. Stein 1984: p.4]. However, it should be noted that Mallowan himself regarded straight/concave-sided beaker type painted vessels<sup>6)</sup> as “late specimens of Khabur ware”, which overlapped with white-on-dark painted Nuzi ware at Tell Brak in area H.H. level 3 [Mallowan 1947: p.78 and Pl.LXVII:19], and in this connection, that he described one straight/concave-sided beaker type painted vessel and another painted jar both from Tell Billa stratum 3<sup>7)</sup>, where white-on-dark painted Nuzi ware also occurred, as “late Khabur ware” [*ibid.*: p.240] (see Fig.1). In fact, these are literally the first descriptions of “late” Khabur ware by Mallowan himself [*cf.* D. Oates 1985: p.168; *idem* 1987: p.180 or *idem* 1990: p.149]. At the same time, Mallowan also described “tall vases with high necks, globular bodies and flat bases, lavishly decorated with rectilinear designs” as “older types of Khabur ware” [1947: p.84].



**Fig. 1** Mallowan’s “late” Khabur ware (scale 1:5).

1. Mallowan 1947: Pl.LXVII:19. Tell Brak.

2. Speiser 1933: Pl.LXII:7. Tell Billa.

It was Hrouda that clearly proposed to draw the distinction between an earlier and a later variety of Khabur ware in terms of ceramic development, describing them as “*ältere*” and “*jüngere*” Khabur wares<sup>8)</sup> [1957: p.22]. This proposal was, however, much speculative, based on such material as came from graves at Aššur and could not but be illustrated without provenance in the site. Although he was aware of the fact that the painted pottery which he called “*jüngere*” Khabur ware was cognate with

5) Note that the recovery of the only sherd of Nuzi ware, from area M, precedes Mallowan’s recognition, at Chagar Bazar, of the presence of the subphases in level 1 [see Mallowan 1936: Fig.27:20, for the Nuzi ware sherd].

6) These vessels are those known as the painted version of the type termed “grain measures” by Mallowan [see Mallowan 1946: pp.148–150 and *idem* 1947: pp.224–225].

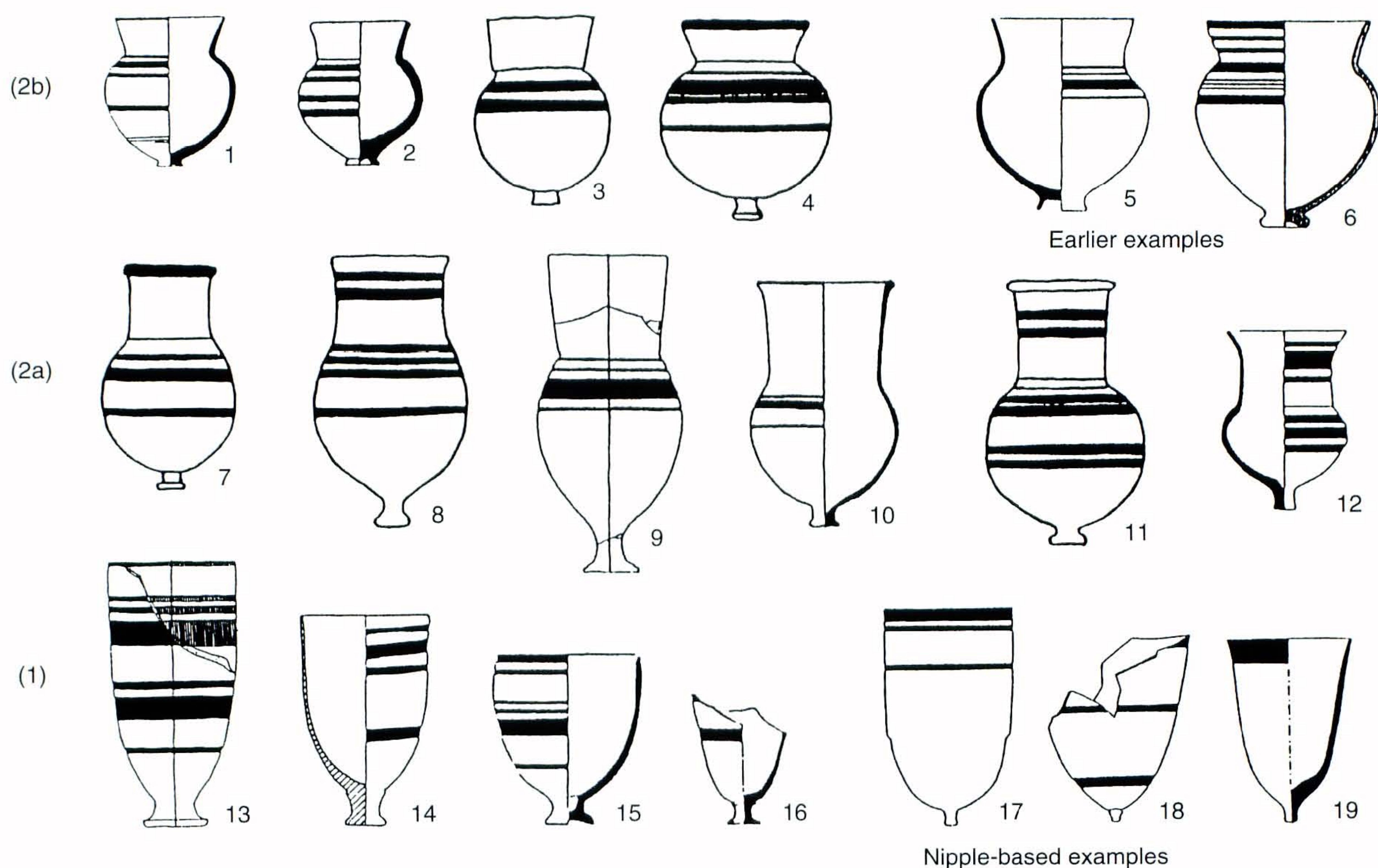
7) For the Billa painted vessels illustrated by Mallowan, see Speiser 1933: Pl.LXII:7,8.

8) Needless to say, in accordance with Hrouda’s terms, “*ältere*” Khabur ware is described as “older” Khabur ware, and “*jüngere*” Khabur ware as “younger” Khabur ware [*e.g.* Hamlin 1971; Kramer 1977; Stein 1984].



white-on-dark painted Nuzi ware particularly in shape, he dared to include it in the category of Khabur ware rather than Nuzi ware: he believed that since a group of transitional types could be perceived between the two subgroups which he attempted to distinguish under the heading of Khabur ware, the painted pottery that came into question could be obviously regarded as that placed in the later stage of the development of Khabur ware [1957: p.22 and see also p.12]<sup>9)</sup>. When proposing this, however, Hrouda hardly explained the transitional group.

Hrouda describes “*ältere*” Khabur ware as relatively thick-walled coarse vessels, consisting of jars, pots and bowls, with geometric painted designs such as varieties of triangles, double-axes, wavy and zigzag lines, checkerboards, X’s, strokes and horizontal bands, and sometimes with a naturalistic motif consisting of branches [1957: pp.24–25]. He further mentions that painted strokes are applied on the rims of bowls, and that there are the triglyph-metope arrangement of triangles, double-axes and X’s on the shoulders of some jars and pots [1957: p.25]. On the other hand, Hrouda describes “*jüngere*” Khabur ware as thin-walled fine drinking vessels, decorated exclusively with horizontal bands consisting of wide and narrow ones [1957: p.24]. According to Hrouda, the shapes of “*jüngere*” Khabur ware are mainly divided into two categories under the terms “*Zitzenbecher*” and “*Schulterbecher*” [1957: p.23] (see Fig.2):



**Fig. 2** Hrouda's “*jüngere*” Khabur ware (scale 1:5).

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| 1. Hrouda 1957: Taf.7:6. Aššur.                          | 11. Hrouda 1957: Taf.8:9. Aššur.  |
| 2. Speiser 1933: Pl.LX:6. Tell Billa.                    | 12. Smit 1988: Pl.147:36. Tell Hammam et-Turkman.                                     |
| 3. Hrouda 1957: Taf.8:11. Aššur.                         | 13. Mallowan 1947: Pl.LXXVII:2. Tell Brak.  |
| 4. Hrouda 1957: Taf.8:10. Aššur.                         | 14. Pfälzner 1995: Taf.173:d (=Oates, Oates & McDonald 1997: Fig.194:332). Tell Brak. |
| 5. Weiss 1985a: p.13. Tell Leilan.                       | 15. Speiser 1933 Pl.LX:1. Tell Billa.   |
| 6. Hrouda 1989: Fig.2<br>(=Özgüç 1953: Abb.25). Kültepe. | 16. Starr 1937: Pl.77:Q. Nuzi.  |
| 7. Hrouda 1957: Taf.8:14. Aššur.                         | 17. Hrouda 1957: Taf.7:7. Aššur.  |
| 8. Hrouda 1957: Taf.8:8. Aššur.                          | 18. Hrouda 1957: Taf.7:5. Aššur.  |
| 9. Mallowan 1947: Pl.LXVII:15. Tell Brak.                | 19. Hrouda 1957: Taf.7:4. Aššur.  |
| 10. el-Amin & Mallowan 1950: Pl.IX:8. Tell Aqrah.        |   |



- (1) “nipple-based beakers”, also referred to as “funnel-shaped” goblets with nipple bases, which one may describe as slanting-sided goblets or conical-shaped beakers [Hrouda 1957: Taf.7:4,5];
- (2) “shouldered beakers” with either button or small footed pedestal (footed button) bases, which one may term “shoulder cups”, consisting mainly of two varieties of shape such as one which has a remarkably tall neck and the other which has an everted short neck or an everted high rim [Hrouda 1957: Taf.7:6 and Taf.8:1–18,20].

There is also a cylindrical-shaped beaker with a nipple base, which Hrouda includes in the nipple-based beaker category [Hrouda 1957: Taf.7:7]. In sum, except for the matter of base types<sup>10</sup>, it can be regarded that Hrouda’s “*jüngere*” Khabur ware consists of three categories in shape: (1) “open-form goblets”, (2a) “tall-necked shoulder cups” and (2b) “eversible-necked/rimmed shoulder cups”<sup>11</sup>. In later studies, however, the concept of “*jüngere*” Khabur ware is treated primarily as composed of shoulder cups [e.g. Hamlin 1971: p.165; D.L. Stein 1984: p.23].

There is another ceramic concept for which the term “transitional” is used. The concept is that proposed by Helene J. Kantor [1958], which was represented by the term “transitional Khabur-Mitannian” ware, as noted above. Kantor, examining ceramic materials from Tell Fakhariyah, hypothetically set an intermediate stage between Khabur ware and Nuzi (Mitannian) ware in assuming that Nuzi ware was a development of Khabur ware. The important point of Kantor’s view is that bird and animal motifs, occurring on later varieties of Khabur ware in dark paint characteristic of Khabur ware, recur on Nuzi ware in white paint on a dark-painted ground, which thus shows the close relationship between Khabur and Nuzi wares [Kantor 1958: pp.22–23].

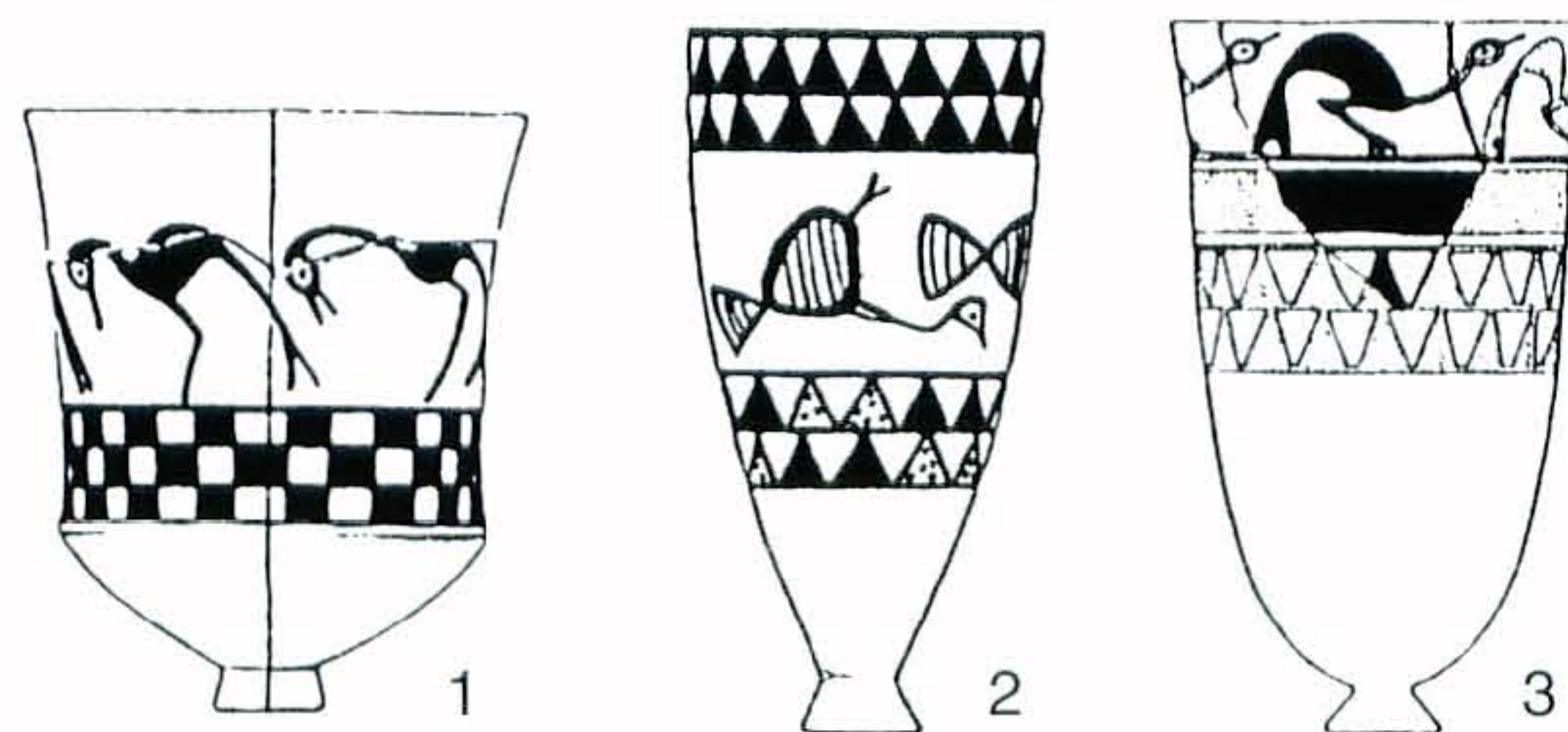
Her theory of setting a transitional phase between the two wares relies largely on materials from Tell Brak, Tell Billa, Tell Jidle and Alalah rather than Tell Fakhariyah itself where sherds from mixed deposits were dealt with. Even from in the deepest level to which the Fakhariyah excavations reached, *i.e.*, the level between floors 6 and 7 in sounding IX, a Late Assyrian sherd was recovered [Kantor 1958: p.24 and see Pl.35/38:113]. In Brak area H.H. level 3 where, according to Mallowan, Khabur ware overlapped with Nuzi ware, coarse dark-painted sherds with designs of birds, quadrupeds and human figures, occasionally combined with solid squares forming a checkerboard pattern and rows of triangles [Mallowan 1947: Pl.LXXVIII:5–9 and 11–12], occurred alongside of some sherds of white-on-dark painted Nuzi ware which just began to appear [e.g. Mallowan 1947: Pl.LXXVIII:13]<sup>12</sup>. Level 2 of Brak area H.H. yielded one dark-painted example of the so-called “face goblets”, decorated with rows of solid triangles, and dark-painted goblets decorated with birds, a checkerboard pattern, rows of solid triangles and triangles filled with small dots, and narrow and broad horizontal bands [Mallowan

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- 9) Five years later, in his reporting on the ceramics from Moortgat’s soundings at Tell Fakhariyah [1961], Hrouda attempted explaining “*jüngere*” Khabur ware in connection with Middle Assyrian pottery rather than “*ältere*” Khabur ware. Adopting historical nomenclatures such as the “Old Assyro-Hurrian” period (the 19/18th–17/16th centuries B.C.) and the “Middle Assyro-Mitannian” period, meaning that the Mitannian period and the Middle Assyrian period overlaps in the 14th century B.C., he argued that the pottery of the “Old Assyro-Hurrian” period was represented by “*ältere*” Khabur ware [1961: p.222], and that there was no apparent difference between ceramic types of the Mitannian period and those of the Middle Assyrian period, including the “*jüngere*” Khabur ware types [1961: pp.209–210]. In his report, Hrouda also suggested that there was dark-painted pottery placed in the earliest stage of the development of white-on-dark painted Nuzi ware, the decorative arrangement of which, in dark paint on a light ground, produced the same effect as the decoration, in white paint on a dark-painted ground, of Nuzi ware [1961: p.220, where a straight(/concave)-sided beaker, Abb.13:f, is illustrated].
  - 10) The problem is that Hrouda lays emphasis upon the occurrence of nipple bases regarding the “open-form goblet” type of “*jüngere*” Khabur ware. Rather important is the fact that many examples of this type are otherwise characterized by small footed pedestal (footed button) bases, which evidently appear earlier than nipple bases in the sequence of the “open-form goblets” in question. Here is a consideration when Hrouda’s concept is appraised. Band-painted “Middle Assyrian” pottery must be a concern in this connection.
  - 11) See also Oguchi 1997b: p.198.
  - 12) However, problematical is the fact that Nuzi ware found in Brak area H.H. level 3 is of some potsherds [see Mallowan 1947: pp.77–78]. There seems no reason to deny the possibility that the Nuzi ware sherds might have been intrusive sherds. We now may therefore stand to reassess this fact [cf. Oates, Oates & McDonald 1997: p.37].



1947: Pl.XL and Pl.LXXVII:1,2,5], as well as numerous sherds of white-on-dark painted Nuzi ware [Mallowan 1947: p.77]. Jidle level 3 yielded not only white-on-dark painted Nuzi ware but also a band-painted shoulder vessel comparable with such a type as occurred in the intermediate and late phases of Chagar Bazar level 1 [Mallowan 1946: p.152 and Fig.11:8], while Jidle level 2 yielded a dark-painted goblet with a bird motif in combination with a broad band and rows of solid triangles, and a dark-painted bowl with a bird motif above a geometric pattern, as well as white-on-dark painted Nuzi ware [Mallowan 1946: p.132 and Fig.11:6,7]. At Billa, stratum 3 produced a dark-painted bowl and a dark-painted censer, both with bird motifs combined with narrow and broad horizontal bands or solid triangles forming a butterfly or double-axe pattern [Speiser 1933: Pl.LX:3 and Pl.LXIII], and white-on-dark painted Nuzi ware with designs of birds, quadrupeds and triangles filled with small dots, which were applied in white paint on dark-painted broad bands [Speiser 1933: Pl.LXI:3–5]. On the other hand, at Alalah there were dark-painted sherds from levels VI–V, which strikingly resembled the dark-painted sherds and vessels from Brak, Jidle and Billa in respect of such designs as birds, quadrupeds and human figures, and also in respect of the arrangements of solid triangles and squares [Woolley 1955: Pl.XCIII:l,m,r, Pl.XCIV:a and Pl.XCV:all except ATP/48/64]. But at Alalah, white-on-dark painted Nuzi ware was regarded as appearing towards the end of level IV [Kantor 1958: p.24; cf. Woolley 1955: p.347 with n.5, and see pp.316–318 and p.387], and accordingly, it was suggested that the phase of dark-painted pottery could be stratigraphically distinguished from the phase of Nuzi ware. This enabled Kantor to assume that the dark-painted pottery of transitional style was somewhat precedent to, and overlapped with, white-on-dark painted Nuzi ware [Kantor 1958: p.24 with n.14 and n.15; cf. Epstein 1966: p.151], and led her to the setting of a transitional phase between Khabur ware and Nuzi ware.

The dark-painted examples of Brak, Jidle, Billa and Alalah, which were cited by Kantor and have been noted above, are marked by the representation of stylized bird and animal motifs, which are drawn in curvilinear patterns but which are often combined with rectilinear geometric patterns derived from Khabur ware. In fact, they are of Kantor's "transitional Khabur-Mitannian" ware, differentiated in some respects from Khabur ware but anticipating the full development of Nuzi ware<sup>13)</sup> (see Fig.3). In this regard, Kantor did not overlook the fact that Billa stratum 4 yielded Khabur ware sherds decorated with birds and animals in combination with cross-hatched triangles, horizontal bands and squares forming a checkerboard pattern<sup>14)</sup>. Differentiating the Billa stratum 4 bird and animal motifs from those specific to the transitional ware, Kantor regarded geometric patterns seen on the Billa stratum 3 transitional ware as directly derived from those of the Billa stratum 4 sherds [1958: n.15 on p.24]. At Fakhariyah, however, there were found no such dark-painted sherds with distinctive bird and animal motifs as were typical of the transitional ware. Consequently, Kantor regarded the following



**Fig. 3** Kantor's "transitional Khabur-Mitannian" ware (scale 1:5).

1. Mallowan 1947: Pl.LXXVII:1. Tell Brak.
2. Mallowan 1947: Pl.LXXVII:5. Tell Brak.
3. Mallowan 1946: Fig.11:10. Tell Jidle.

13) See also Epstein 1966: p.151.

14) See Speiser 1933: Pl.LXXII.



dark-painted sherds of Fakhariyah as belonging to a transitional Khabur-Mitannian phase in comparison with materials from Brak and Billa:

- (1) a “face goblet” sherd [Kantor 1958: Pl.35/38:109], closely resembling the Brak area H.H. level 3 example noted above;
- (2) a shoulder cup sherd [Kantor 1958: Pl.35/38:110], comparable with a shoulder cup from Billa 3 [Speiser 1933: Pl.LX:5];
- (3) a beaker sherd [Kantor 1958: Pl.35/38:114], belonging to the type category of Mallowan’s “late” Khabur ware [Mallowan 1947: Pl.LXVII:19; Speiser 1933: LXII:7];
- (4) an open cup/goblet sherd [Kantor 1958: Pl.35/38:116], similar to an example from Billa 3 [Speiser 1993: Pl.LX:1].

We thus recognize that the ceramic corpus of Kantor’s transitional phase includes the “open-form goblet” and “eversible-necked/rimmed shoulder cup” types of Hrouda’s “*jüngere*” Khabur ware.

### ***Counterarguments, revision and rectification in 1971–1992***

More than ten years later, Kantor’s ceramic concept aroused controversy. One pointed out that there was no strong stratigraphic evidence for supporting her theory, though the view on stylistic grounds was attractive [Hamlin 1971: p.174, but *cf.* p.254]. One also claimed that whether such dark-painted examples as were decorated with stylized birds and animals were of Khabur ware was a matter for argument, on the assumption that the dark-painted ware in question belonged to the category of Nuzi ware [D.L. Stein 1984: p.18 and p.23]. Thus, the concept of “transitional Khabur-Mitannian” ware has been doubted.

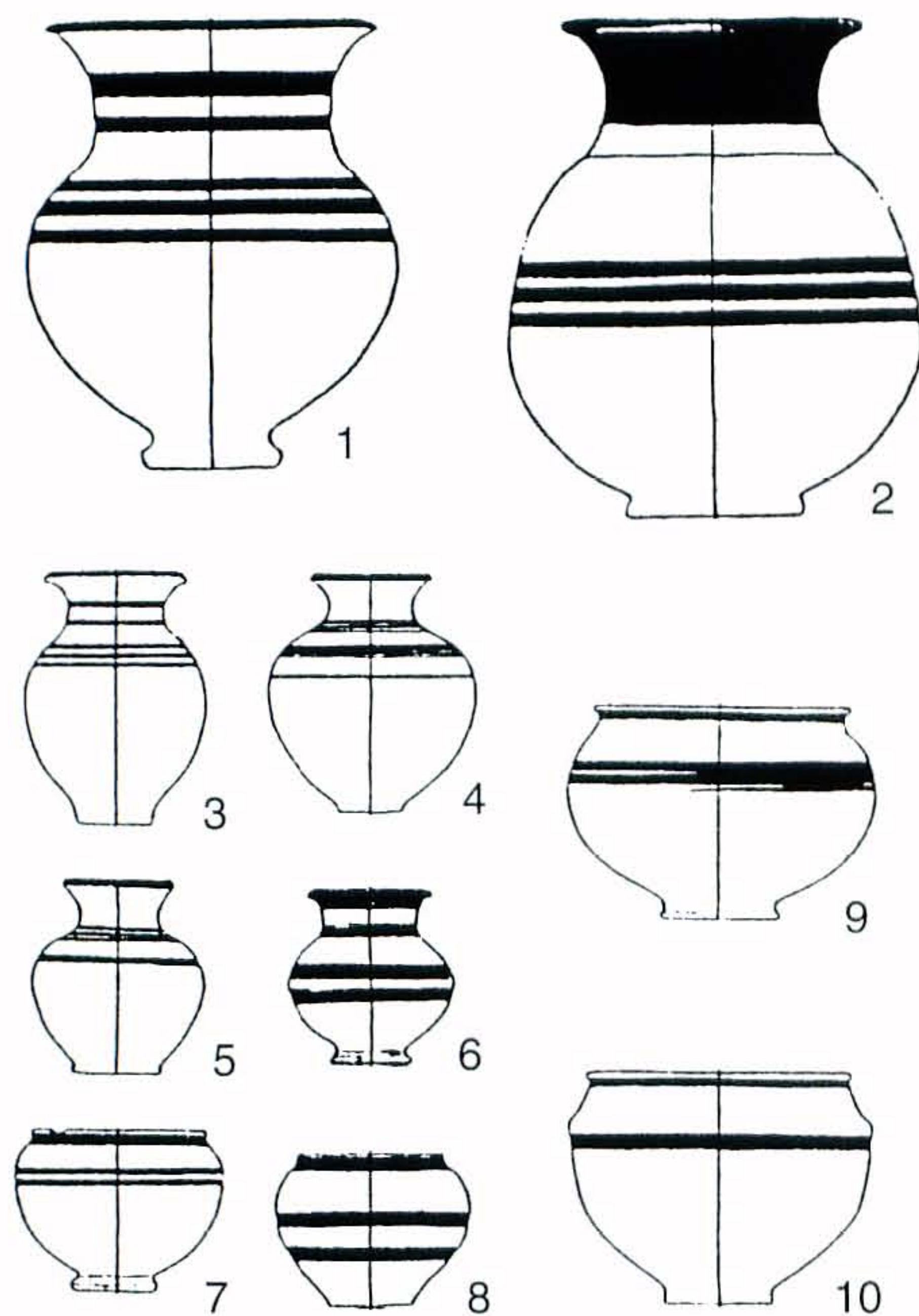
Likewise, the concept of Hrouda’s “*jüngere*” Khabur ware was regarded with suspicion<sup>15)</sup>. It was Diana L. Stein [1984] that first entertained doubts on its concept and discussed such a problem very semantically. First of all, Stein points out that there are “those instances where Khabur Ware and Nuzi Ware overlap — as for example dark paint on a typical Nuzi shape, or white paint on a Khabur Ware shape —”, defying categorization under the given terms and leading to confusion when the respective terms are applied [1984: p.6]. This problem is well illustrated by the fact that David Oates terms two examples of small painted vessels, from one of the vaulted chambers overlying the palace of area C at Tell al-Rimah, “late Khabur/early Nuzi” type pottery [D. Oates 1972: p.85 and Pl.XXXII:a and b]<sup>16)</sup>. To this problem, Stein finds a solution theoretically, by proposing that Hrouda’s “*jüngere*” Khabur ware, though decorated in dark paint, should be treated terminologically as “Nuzi ware”, *i.e.*, as belonging to the same group as white-on-dark painted ware [1984: p.23]. She, instead, suggests that if a later variety of Khabur ware is newly defined under the heading of “younger” Khabur ware, it should represent “those smaller and possibly more refined vessels which have antecedents (both with respect to shape and decoration) in the ‘older’ variety of Khabur ware” characterized by large thick-walled vessels of coarse ware; and she states that “the miniature jars and pots with plain banded decoration from the intermediate period of Chagar Bazar satisfy this description” [1984: p.23] (see Fig.4). Thus, “Nuzi ware” is also newly defined as those which are “distinguished primarily on the basis of its white painted decoration and secondly by its fairly standardized range of shapes” such as pedestal goblets, shoulder cups and beakers, which originate in Babylonia on firm chronological ground [D.L. Stein 1984: p.23 and see also pp.12–13]<sup>17)</sup>. In other words, the “Nuzi ware” defined by Stein consists of

15) For the summary of this problem, see also Pfälzner 1995: pp.238–239.

16) John Curtis writes that “late Khabur/early Nuzi” pottery “is superficially similar to Khabur ware, but can be distinguished from it” [1982: p.84]. On the other hand, Paul Zimansky, using D. Oates’s terminology, reports that at Tell Hamida, a site in the North Jazira Project area of Iraq, pottery categorized as the “late Khabur/early Nuzi” type occurs in operation 1, where Nuzi ware occurs besides [1990: pp.271–272]. In the most recent report on the excavations at Tell al-Rimah, D. Oates refers to it as “vessels painted in a style intermediate between the Khabur ware of the Palace period and the painted wares of Mitanni times” [Postgate, Oates & Oates 1997: p.36].

17) Further, see D.L. Stein 1989a: p.89 and Fig.28.





1. Mallowan 1937: Fig.22:5.
  2. Mallowan 1937: Fig.22:4.
  3. Mallowan 1937: Fig.22:1.
  4. Mallowan 1937: Fig.22:2.
  5. Mallowan 1947: Pl.LXXXII:7.
  6. Mallowan 1937: Fig.24:10.
  7. Mallowan 1937: Fig.23:3.
  8. Mallowan 1937: Fig.23:4.
  9. Mallowan 1937: Fig.24:7.
  10. Mallowan 1937: Fig.24:8.
- All of these are from Chagar Bazar.

**Fig. 4** D.L. Stein's "younger" Khabur ware newly defined. Scale 1:5.

both white-on-dark painted pottery and dark-painted pottery marked by such shapes. According to her theory, two band-painted examples of Khabur ware from Kültepe *Karum* Ib can be divided into the "younger" Khabur ware newly defined<sup>18)</sup> and the "Nuzi ware" (see Fig.2:6) consisting of dark-painted and white-on-dark painted wares<sup>19)</sup>, as recognized by Stein herself [D.L. Stein 1984: p.24]. In this respect, a problem arises from a chronological aspect: the Kültepe *Karum* Ib examples, though from graves, are considered as associated with cuneiform tablets dated to the reign of Šamši-Adad I (ca. 1813–1781 B.C.), from the Ib building level, and this is regarded as a piece of evidence to show approximately the beginning date of Khabur ware<sup>20)</sup>. In addition, in the intermediate phase of Chagar Bazar level 1 (ca. 1700–1650 B.C., according to Mallowan), the dark-painted shoulder cups categorized by Stein as the "Nuzi ware" occur overlapping with both the "older" Khabur ware and the "younger" Khabur ware newly defined [D.L. Stein 1984: p.25]. This also raises the necessity of dating the "Nuzi ware" much earlier than the 15th century B.C., the date often assigned by scholars to white-on-dark painted Nuzi ware. However, on the ground that "Karum Ib may have continued to the latter part of Hammurabi's reign (c. 1750 B.C.)" in accordance with Buchanan's proposal based on glyptic evidence for the date of the end of Ib<sup>21)</sup>, Stein reasoned that the Kültepe evidence for the earliest occurrence of the shoulder cups defined as dark-painted "Nuzi ware", as well as the Chagar Bazar evidence, suggested that such a kind of pottery had appeared slightly earlier than white-on-dark painted Nuzi ware, dated most conventionally to the 15th century B.C.<sup>22)</sup> [1984: p.25]. She thus

18) T. Özgüç 1953: Abb.18/26 (a small pot), to which another small pot [Emre 1963: Pl.XXV:1] may be added as an example relevant to Stein's discussion.

19) T. Özgüç 1953: Abb.17/25 (an "eversible-necked/rimmed shoulder cup").

20) But note that there is certain evidence of Khabur ware having appeared before Šamši-Adad I [see Oguchi 1997b: p.196ff., *idem* 1998: p.119 with n.3 and *idem* 1999: p.89].

21) Buchanan 1969: pp.758–759. Cf. N. Özgüç 1968: p.319. See also Oguchi 1999: p.88. Accordingly, it is now considered that the Kültepe *Karum* Ib occupation continued till 1750/40 B.C.

22) For the problem of the dating of white-on-dark painted Nuzi ware, see and cf. D.L. Stein 1989b: p.36ff. In fact, recent excavations at Tell Brak suggest that the occurrence of white-on-dark painted Nuzi ware ranges in time from the mid-16th century B.C., at the latest, into some time in the first half of the 13th century B.C. [see Oates, Oates & McDonald 1997: pp.67–68 with Fig.92 for unequivocally stratified Nuzi ware from Brak area HH levels 6-2, for the dating of which, see p.18 and p.21]. In addition, it is interesting to note here that it is said that at Kar-Tukliti-Ninurta (Telul al-'Aqar), an inscribed brick of the Middle Assyrian king Adad-nirari I (ca. 1305–1274 B.C.) was found together with white-on-dark painted Nuzi ware [Hrouda 1957: p.19]. Hrouda considered that this was a piece of



assigned the date for the beginning of the newly defined "Nuzi ware" to the early 16th century B.C., which was also supported by evidence at Dinkha Tepe and Alalah [1984: p.24 and p.29]. Dinkha Tepe, yielding Khabur ware and no dark-painted "Nuzi ware", provides a carbon-14 date of *ca.* 1600 B.C. for the end of the Khabur ware of the site; and Alalah level V, underlying level IV generally dated to the 15th century B.C. by its archive, produces dark-painted "Nuzi ware" [D.L. Stein 1984: p.29].

This disputed problem of "*jüngere*" Khabur ware was discussed again by Hrouda in his later monograph [1989]. In accepting Stein's opinion to some extent, Hrouda retracted his former opinion on the distinction between "*ältere*" and "*jüngere*" Khabur wares<sup>23)</sup>. Hrouda thus emphasizes that a group of slanting-sided, dark-painted goblets with nipple bases, which he previously included in the category of "*jüngere*" Khabur ware as "funnel-shaped" goblets (*i.e.* "open-form goblets"; Fig.2: Group 1), should be treated as a variant ("*zweite oder dritte Wahl*") of white-on-dark painted Nuzi ware which he considers as a ceramic counterpart of glass vessels becoming prevalent in mid-second millennium Mesopotamia and Egypt [1989: p.206]<sup>24)</sup>.

This kind of goblet illustrated in the monograph was the same as before [Hrouda 1989: Fig.3:4,5 = *idem* 1957: Abb.7:4,5]. With regard to another group consisting of dark-painted shoulder cups, said to be characteristic of "*jüngere*" Khabur ware, Hrouda concentrates his attention on those with everted short necks or everted high rims, *i.e.*, of the "eversible-necked/rimmed shoulder cup" type (Fig.2: Group 2b). He points out that among them, there are examples remarkably similar to Kassite pottery in shape [1989: p.206]; but the pottery illustrated was the pyriform-shaped, unpainted, shouldered vessel which came from a grave underneath the floor of a house of the intermediate phase of level 1 at Chagar Bazar [Hrouda 1989: Fig.4:2 = Mallowan 1947: Pl.LXXXII:8]. He further points out that there are also examples of which the shape, though resembling that of Late Assyrian pottery in appearance, is obviously popular in the late second millennium B.C. [1989: p.206]; in this case, the pottery vessels illustrated were the spherical- or ovoid-shaped, band-painted shoulder cups which came from

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evidence suggesting that the Nuzi ware fashion had terminated in the time of the Middle Assyrian king, at least within the area around Aššur [*ibid.*].

- 23) It is, however, noted that in *Reallexikon der Assyriologie* Band 4 (1975): p.30, Hrouda had already suggested that "*jüngere*" Khabur ware was related to white-on-dark painted Nuzi ware rather than Khabur ware.

- 24) See also Hrouda 1991: p.106 and Abb.18.

For an argument against Hrouda's view that in particular the "open-form goblet" type of Nuzi ware is a derivative from glass vessel types, see Postgate, Oates & Oates 1997: p.54.

With respect to nipple bases, we must pay attention to the fact that white-on-dark painted Nuzi ware examples from Aššur and Tell Aqrah have such bases, which are of the "open-form goblet" type. It thus seems that Hrouda takes this fact into consideration when discussing the "*jüngere*" Khabur ware *versus* Nuzi ware. More important is the fact that at Aššur and Tell Aqrah, *i.e.*, in the central area of Middle Assyrian territory, nipple-based, band-painted "open-form goblets" occur in addition to nipple-based "open-form goblets" of white-on-dark painted Nuzi ware [el-Amin & Mallowan 1950: Pl.IX:11,12 (Nuzi ware) and Pl.IX:13,14 (band-painted goblets); Hrouda 1957: Taf.1:4 (Nuzi ware) and Taf.7:4,5,7 (band-painted goblets)]. Such nipple bases may become a clue to the solution of the problem of earlier pottery of the Middle Assyrian period overlapping in time with the Mitannian period. It is interesting to note here that in "Middle Assyrian" phase b at Tell Mohammed 'Arab, a site in the Eski Mosul area, there occur a Nuzi ware sherd [Roaf 1984: Pl.XII:b], red-edged bowls/plates [Roaf 1984: p.147; Pfälzner 1995: Taf.189:b,c], and unpainted "open-form goblets" with small footed pedestal (footed button) or nipple-like bases [Roaf 1983: Fig.5:1,2]. Mohammed 'Arab "Middle Assyrian" levels have also yielded band-painted "open-form goblets" either with small footed pedestal (footed button) bases or with nipple bases [Geoffrey Summers, personal communication in 1988]. A band-painted "open-form goblet" with a nipple base has been also found at Tell Fisna, a site also in the Eski Mosul area [Numoto 1988: Fig.31:321, from so-called "'Middle Assyrian' level III" in the area of Grid no.VI-4].

For brief but significant discussion on the occurrence of nipple bases in the sequence of drinking vessels, whether painted or unpainted, based on materials from Tell al-Rimah and Tell Brak, see Postgate, Oates & Oates 1997: p.56 and Oates, Oates and McDonald 1997: p.71, both suggesting that nipple bases are in general characteristic of Middle Assyrian drinking vessels, with the exception of several such nipple-based examples as occur at Rimah in the Mitannian period of the site itself, which is, not as at Brak, dated between the mid-16th and a date of no later than the mid-14th century B.C. Certainly the elucidation of ceramic sequence from the Mitannian to the Middle Assyrian period remains a problem. An aspect of this problem may be represented by the fact that in reporting on the excavations at Tell al-Hawa in area AB, Warwick Ball mentions that "Nuzi ware is often found in association with Middle Assyrian pottery" [Ball 1990a: p.81]. At any rate, a clue to the solution of this problem lies no doubt at Rimah.



Aššur [Hrouda 1989: Fig.3:6 and Fig.7:10,11 = *idem* 1957: Taf.8:10,11]. At any rate, with these discussions, Hrouda asserted that such shoulder cups should be disassociated from the concept of Khabur ware, suggesting that they might possibly be distantly related to white-on-dark painted Nuzi ware [1989: p.206]. Nevertheless, Hrouda further argues that while the pyriform-shaped shoulder cups can be connected with southern Mesopotamia, the spherical- or ovoid-shaped shoulder cups are considered to have originated in northern Mesopotamia, since they appear to be reminiscent of Halaf pottery in shape [1989: p.208]. If so, the earliest attestation, at Kültepe, of band-painted shoulder cups, as mentioned above, would be fully explained; but, if so, such a kind of shoulder cup cannot be disassociated from Khabur ware: this is a contradictory point of Hrouda's discussions. On the other hand, with regard to the "tall-necked shoulder cups" which should be regarded as very common among the examples of "*jüngere*" Khabur ware [Hrouda 1989: Fig.7:1–9,13–18,20 = *idem* 1957: Taf.8:1–9,13–18,20] (see Fig.2: Group 2a), Hrouda merely suggests that they differ only in function from the "eversible-necked/rimmed shoulder cups" [1989: p.209].

Finally, it was Peter Z. Spanos [1992] that tackled this problem in discussing "*Schulterbecher*" type vessels. Pronouncing that Hrouda rectified his view on the distinction of Khabur ware and declared that slanting-sided, band-painted goblets with nipple bases should be included in the category of Nuzi ware, Spanos states that shoulder beakers with button bases<sup>25)</sup>, consisting of two varieties of shape, still remain a problem on "*jüngere*" Khabur ware [1992: p.194]. The two varieties of shoulder beaker, *i.e.*, short-necked and tall-necked shoulder cups<sup>26)</sup>, were thus further discussed. Spanos, stating that undecorated "shouldered cups" at Nuzi can be certainly described as Babylonian types, claims that the "shouldered cups" of Nuzi and the two varieties of band-painted shoulder cup of Aššur are of respectively disassociated shapes [1992: p.194]. He argues that a variety of tall-necked shoulder cup, though similar to a few examples of white-on-dark painted Nuzi ware in shape, is considered as belonging to the category of Khabur ware particularly in decorative techniques, and that a variety of short-necked shoulder cup is a derivative from "*ältere*" Khabur ware particularly in respect of shape [1992: p.194]. Spanos therefore asserted that the two varieties of band-painted shoulder cup should be termed "*jüngere*" Khabur ware, as Hrouda had suggested. In the argument, Spanos did not also overlook the earlier occurrence of band-painted shoulder cups with everted short necks or everted high rims at Kültepe and Tell Leilan, where they could be dated to the reign of Šamši-Adad I on epigraphic ground [see T. Özgüç 1953: Abb.17/25, and Weiss 1985a: an example in the illustration on p.13] (Fig.1:5,6). In adding to these examples a band-painted, shouldered vessel [Mallowan 1947: Pl.LXXXII:6] from Chagar Bazar grave 201, said to be assigned to the intermediate phase of level 1, which also yielded an example of "*ältere*" Khabur ware, Spanos further argued that all such examples were marked as the earlier shoulder cup examples which could be typologically connected with the short-necked, band-painted shoulder cups of Aššur, still termed by himself "*jüngere*" Khabur ware [1992: pp.194–195]. In this regard, he notes that the earlier shoulder cups have either small ring, flat or pedestal bases, while the later shoulder cups have button bases<sup>27)</sup>, suggesting that the earlier and later ones are distinguishable in respect of base types<sup>28)</sup> [1992: p.194].

### ***Others 1965–1995***

While the foregoing discussions were proceeding, some scholars variously illustrated a later variety of Khabur ware with several examples.

In his essay on the periodization of the Hasanlu sequence, Robert H. Dyson, Jr. writes that Hasanlu period VI has a close parallel with "*jüngere*" Khabur ware reported from Aššur by Hrouda

25) In this case, small footed pedestal (footed button) bases must be another consideration.

26) That is to say, they are "eversible-necked/rimmed shoulder cups" and "tall-necked shoulder cups" in the present writer's words.

27) See note 25 in the present article.

28) See also Oguchi 1997b: p.203, part of the discussion of Tell Leilan Khabur ware.



[1965: p.195]; and he describes it as "late" Khabur ware elsewhere in the essay [1965: Table 2 on p.211]. Although Dyson misreads Hrouda's "*jüngere*" Khabur ware as including "*ältere*" Khabur ware [Dyson 1965: p.195, citing Hrouda 1957: Taf.9 ("*ältere*" Khabur ware) as "*jüngere*" Khabur ware examples], it seems that he regards a band-painted, shouldered, small jar as the most appropriate example of "*jüngere*" Khabur ware from Hasanlu VI [Dyson 1965: the middle of the top of Fig.1 or the right of the top of Fig.13]. But it is noted that even this example is very similar to a band-painted small jar from a grave of the intermediate phase of Chagar Bazar level 1 [Mallowan 1937: Pl.XIX:1 or Fig.22:5] rather than a shoulder cup of "*jüngere*" Khabur ware (see Fig.5:1; cf. Fig.4:1/Fig.5:4). This is a case where Hrouda's "*jüngere*" Khabur ware was misread.

Further, Carol Hamlin, though stating that the excavations at Dinkha Tepe provide no strong stratigraphic basis for subdividing Khabur ware into "older" and "younger" Khabur wares [1971: p.136 and p.298], mentions that in Dinkha jar types 1, 2 and 3 [1971: Pl.1:1–3], there are typological parallels with Hrouda's "younger" Khabur ware [1971: p.165 and see p.78]. But there is no similarity between the Dinkha jar types illustrated and the shoulder cups of Hrouda's "younger (*jüngere*)" Khabur ware.

Futhermore, in his study of the pottery from Tell Chuera, Hartmut Kühne, considering Hrouda's proposal, refers to two band-painted base sherds as "*jüngere*" Khabur ware; they appears to be slanting-sided or cylindrical-shaped goblets with footed pedestal bases [Kühne 1976: p.98 with n.812 and Taf.37:9–10]. The shapes are, however, those which one might describe as "Nuzi type pottery" and which are described in the present article as being of the "open-form goblet" type.

Subsequently, through her reassessment of the chronology of Alalah levels VI–V, Marie-Henriette Carre Gates illustrates four band-painted, shouldered vessels, from the Alalah levels, as "late" Khabur ware [1981: p.16 and Ill.2:m-p on p.13]. Of the vessels illustrated, however, two have the shapes which should be differentiated from early second millennium north Mesopotamian types as well as from the shoulder cup types of "*jüngere*" Khabur ware [Gates 1981: Ill.2:m.n]. The remainder (Fig.5:6,7) are of the "eversible-necked/rimmed shoulder cup" type, which are certainly regarded as Hrouda's "*jüngere*" Khabur ware [Gates 1981: Ill.2:o = Woolley 1955: Pl.LXXXVII:a, ATP/46/286 (type 124) from level V, and Gates 1981: Ill.2:p = ATP/46/258, the same type as Woolley 1955: Pl.LXXXVII:a, ATP/46/246 (type 127) from level V].

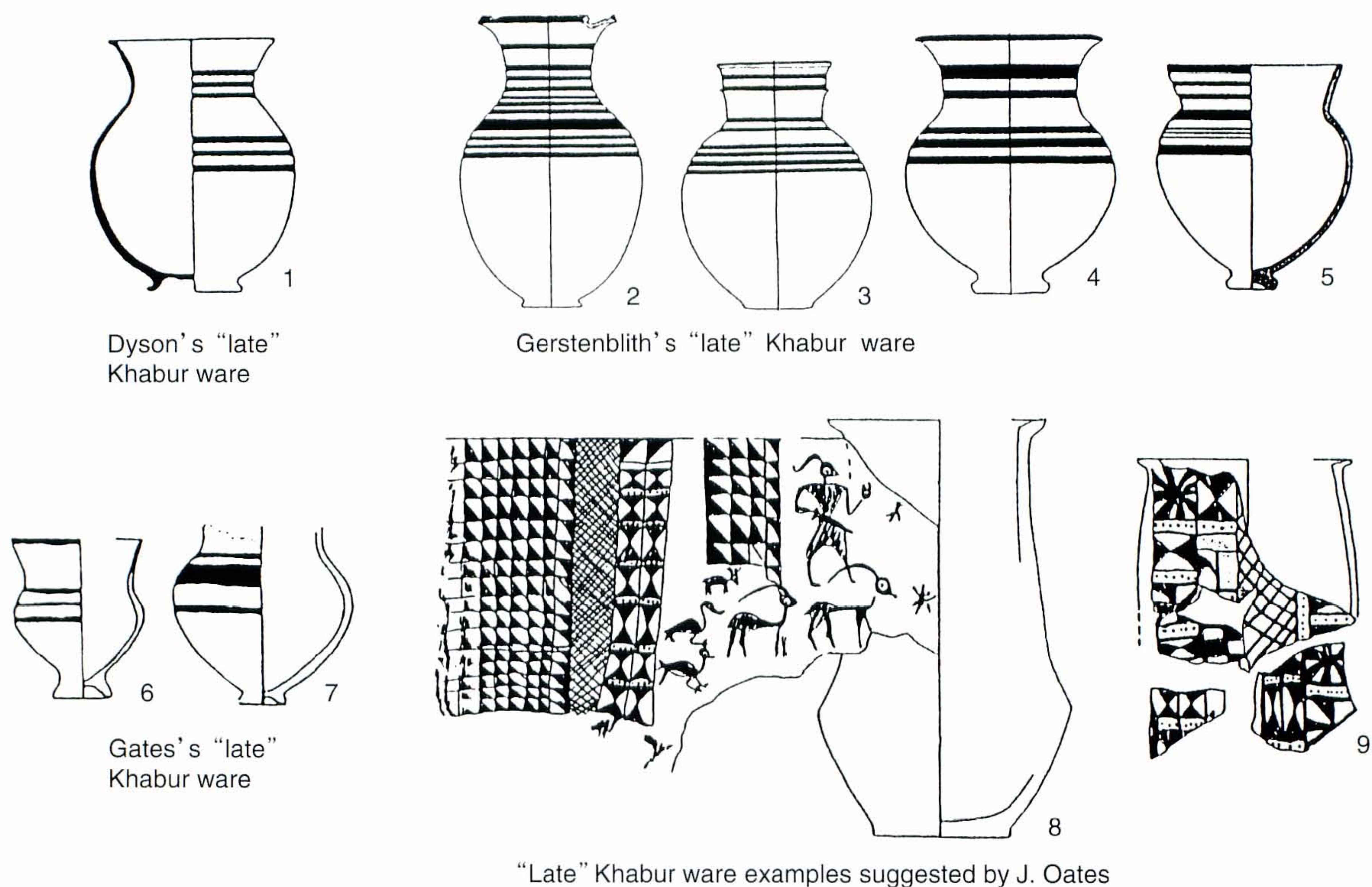
On the other hand, referring to Khabur ware in investigating the development of Middle Bronze Age pottery in the Levant, Patty Gerstenblith briefly mentions "late" Khabur ware, which she illustrates with band-painted examples from the intermediate phase of Chagar Bazar level 1<sup>29)</sup> and Kültepe *Karum* level Ib [1983: n.1 on p.72]. One of the Chagar Bazar examples illustrated there corresponds to an example of Stein's newly defined "younger" Khabur ware [D.L. Stein 1984: Pl.III:11 = Mallowan 1937: Fig.22:5]. The Kültepe example illustrated is of the "eversible-necked/rimmed shoulder cup" type of Hrouda's "*jüngere*" Khabur ware [T. Özgüç 1953: Abb.17/25]. However, Gerstenblith never adduced there good reasons for regarding them as "late" Khabur ware.

Moreover, in the report on the period VIIIA pottery of Tell Hammam et-Turkman, Ferdinand Smit writes that one band-painted jarlet (Fig.2:12) from period VIIIA, which is paralleled at Billa and Aššur, fits in with Hrouda's "*jüngere*" Khabur ware [1988: p.461 and Pl.147:36]. It is obviously of the "tall-necked shoulder cup" type of "*jüngere*" Khabur ware.

With regard to the pottery of the Hurro-Mitannian period (15th/14th century B.C., according to him) from Tell Hwesh, Peter Pfälzner, dealing with two band-painted body sherds, probably from "open-form goblet" type vessels, regards one sherd as that of Nuzi ware and the other as belonging to "*jüngere*" Khabur ware [1990: p.138]. The sherd regarded by Pfälzner as Nuzi ware has no white-painted decoration on the brown bands [Pfälzner 1990: Abb.1:a]; but he argues that the sherd,

29) The Chagar Bazar examples illustrated by Gerstenblith are Mallowan 1937: Pl.XIX:1–3 or Fig.22:5, Fig.23:9,12.





**Fig. 5** Later Khabur ware variously illustrated by authorities. Scale 1:5, except no. 1, the scale of which is uncertain.

1. Dyson 1965: Fig.13. Hasanlu.
- 2–4. Mallowan 1937: Fig.22:5 and Fig.23:9,12. Chagar Bazar.
5. Hrouda 1989: Fig.2 (= Özgüç 1953: Abb.25). Kültepe.
- 6–7. Gates 1981: I11.2:o,p. Alalah.
- 8–9. Gates 1981: I11.4:a,b. Alalah.

decorated with combination of a broad and a narrow band which is characteristic of Nuzi ware, should be differentiated from “*jüngere*” Khabur ware decorated with several narrow bands [1990: n.4 on p.138]. As for the other sherd, he argues that because of a thin-walled drinking vessel, it can be regarded as “*jüngere*” Khabur ware [1990: n.4 on p.138]. In studying pottery from Tell Bdeiri/Bdēri, Pfälzner further treats band-painted “open-form goblets”<sup>30)</sup> and band-painted small jars<sup>31)</sup> as “*jüngere*” Khabur ware [1995: p.46 and pp.238–240]. However, the Bdeiri band-painted jars, with nipple bases, are likely to be Middle Assyrian in shape<sup>32)</sup>.

In addition, in the report on the excavations at Tell Sabi Abyad, Peter M.M.G. Akkermans and Inge Rossmesl mention, without illustrations, that in the LBA strata yielding Middle Assyrian pottery dating to the 13th century B.C., there were found some “late” Khabur ware body sherds [1990: p.25]. In this case, however, the possibility that the sherds are of “Middle Assyrian” painted pottery is suggested, as we know from Tell Mohammed ‘Arab in the Saddam Dam Salvage Project area of Iraq, where some cylindrical- or conical-shaped “open-form goblets” with either small footed pedestal (footed button) or nipple bases, each of which was decorated with a single horizontal band of paint, were recovered from “Middle Assyrian” levels<sup>33)</sup>. The problem is, however, that according to Hrouda’s former opinion, the Mohammed ‘Arab examples are those which can be described as “*jüngere*” Khabur

30) Pfälzner 1995: Taf.34:b, Taf.35:b,f and Taf.65:c, described by him as “*jüngere*” Khabur ware.

31) Pfälzner 1995: Taf.36:a and b, described by him also as “*jüngere*” Khabur ware.

32) See also Oguchi 1998: p.124.

33) See J. Summers’s personal communication, part of note 24 in the present article.



ware because of being of the “open-form goblet” type with banded decoration. The usage of terms becomes problematic in this regard.

In further addition, in referring to second millennium painted pottery from operation 1 at Tell Hamida, lying in the plain north of Jebel Sinjar, Paul Zimansky, using the term “late” Khabur ware, illustrates it with two band-painted examples, one of which is a small shouldered pot and the other a small straight/concave-sided type vessel described by him as a cup [Zimansky 1995: Fig.4:a,b on p.80].

The foregoing indicates that the concept of later Khabur ware lacks consistency, and is often in confusion. David Oates reports that through the excavations of area A, the temple site on the central mound, of Tell al-Rimah, “late Khabur painted ware” occurred on the two later floors of room XXI of the temple in phase III [1967: p.38]. However, the painted ware was not exemplified there. Had he illustrated it with examples, they would have become an indicator for pursuing the clear conceptualization of a later variety of Khabur ware<sup>34)</sup>. Here, it is worthy of note that on the basis of results of recent excavations at Tell Brak, Joan Oates points out that dark-painted goblets with distinctive bird motifs are accepted as characteristic of “late” Khabur ware, and that in the Alalah levels VI–V pottery illustrated by M.-H.C. Gates, there are examples<sup>35)</sup> which can be regarded as “late” Khabur ware [personal communication in 1995]. The Alalah examples are straight/concave-sided beaker type painted vessels (Fig.5:8,9).

### *The most recent discussions*

This later Khabur ware problem has been discussed most recently in the full report on the pottery from Tell al-Rimah and in the final report on the recent excavations of second millennium levels at Tell Brak [Postgate, Oates & Oates 1997; Oates, Oates & McDonald 1997]. To such discussion, combined evidence from both Rimah and Brak has been available there.

D. Oates and J. Oates, noting that D.L. Stein’s view as noted above raises further confusion, claim that it is advisable that the conventional concept of Nuzi ware, used exclusively for white-on-dark painted vessels, should be retained [Postgate, Oates & Oates 1997: p.54]. Thus the treatment of band-painted examples occurring later in time has become again a matter of argument. As a solution of this problem, D. Oates and J. Oates, however, have proposed a usage of new terms, on the basis of epigraphic and ceramic evidence from Tell al-Rimah and Tell Brak, such as “Old Babylonian” Khabur ware, “Late Old Babylonian” Khabur ware<sup>36)</sup> and “Mitanni” Khabur ware [Postgate, Oates & Oates 1997: p.52ff.; Oates, Oates & McDonald 1997: p.63ff.] (see Fig.6). The significant point is that D. Oates and J. Oates declare that Khabur ware continued to occur into the Mitannian period. Of importance in this regard is D. Oates and J. Oates’s statement that the use of red-striped decoration in early Mitanni levels “is not confined simply to beakers or goblets” [Postgate, Oates & Oates 1997: p.53].

At Rimah, epigraphic evidence obtained in several spots gives chronologically-fixed points for pottery found particularly *in situ*, thus making it possible to infer a chronological framework for early second millennium pottery more precisely than at other sites [for the fixed points, see Postgate, Oates & Oates 1997: p.51 and pp.55–56]. The discovery at Rimah of tablets written in Old Babylonian further enables the use of the term “Old Babylonian” [Postgate, Oates & Oates 1997: p.17]. The use of the term “Mitanni” at Rimah is naturally possible not only on the ground of historical probability but also in comparison with material from Brak providing certain evidence of Mitanni occupation of long

34) D. Oates, when referring to Mallowan’s excavations at Brak in area H.H., especially in level 3, always uses the term “late” Khabur ware [1985: p.168, 1987: p.180 and 1990: p.149; see also Oates, Oates & McDonald 1997: p.37]. This may hint to us what D. Oates called “late Khabur painted ware”.

35) They, indicated by J. Oates, are Gates 1981: Ill.4:a (= Woolley 1955: Pl.XCV:ATP/39/279), from Alalah V, and b (ATP/39/142), from Alalah VI–V.

36) “Late Old Babylonian” Khabur ware is represented by painted pottery vessels from the so-called “kitchen” of level 6a in Rimah site C, which corresponds to D. Oates’s area HH level 8 at Brak.



duration. Thus the chronological, but not stylistic, subdivision of the sequence of Khabur ware has been proposed in the form of combining historical nomenclature with a stylistic label, with the result that some vexed problems of second millennium stylistic chronology have been able to be avoided<sup>37)</sup>.

However, a problem arises there. D. Oates and J. Oates say that “in the absence of epigraphic documentation a separation of Late Old Babylonian from Mitanni Khabur ware is difficult, if not impossible”, and repeat that “the painted Khabur ware of early Mitanni date remains indistinguishable from its Old Babylonian predecessor” [Oates, Oates & McDonald 1997: p.67]<sup>38)</sup>. In sum, the distinction between “Late Old Babylonian” Khabur ware and “Mitanni” Khabur ware is difficult to make, at a site where no epigraphic evidence is found. In consequence, in case one compares the Khabur ware, from such a site, presumably of later date with the Rimah and Brak Khabur ware of later date, the one is pressed to make a choice between alternatives, which are “Late Old Babylonian” and of “Mitanni”, without confidence. D. Oates and J. Oates suggest that at present, we cannot help relying on other indicators for the Mitannian period, such as white-on-dark painted Nuzi ware and core-moulded glass vessels [Oates, Oates & McDonald 1997: p.67]. In other words, the determination of the Khabur ware of early Mitanni date can be made only by their association with the painted pottery.

For instance, “Late Old Babylonian” Khabur ware is characterized by the presence of distinctive bird motifs, which are also marked as a distinctive feature of “Mitanni” Khabur ware and are likewise found on its contemporary Nuzi ware [Postgate, Oates & Oates 1997: p.53; Oates, Oates & McDonald 1997: p.71]. At Rimah, the presence of so-called deliberate “paint splashes” on the vessel interior is a characteristic of “Old Babylonian” Khabur ware, while also at Brak, such interior “paint splashes” occur on “Mitanni” Khabur ware [Postgate, Oates & Oates 1997: p.53]. Moreover, D. Oates and J. Oates state that “striped shouldered beakers of Late Old Babylonian times continue well into the period of Mitanni control”, which can be demonstrated by ceramic evidence from Rimah and Brak [Oates, Oates & McDonald 1997: pp.68–71].

In connection of this problem, on the other hand, D. Oates and J. Oates state that it is preferable that Hrouda’s original concepts of “older” and “younger” Khabur wares are retained [Oates, Oates & McDonald 1997: pp.63–64 and p.67]. The necessity of the retainment has come from the facts that the clear distinction between “Late Old Babylonian” and “Early Mitanni” painted wares is almost impossible<sup>39)</sup>, and that the chronological distinction between chaff- and mineral-tempered fabrics, often concerned with the differentiation between coarse “older” and fine “younger” Khabur wares, is no longer applicable, because differences in ware-fabric depend on vessel size and function<sup>40)</sup> [Oates, Oates & McDonald 1997: pp.63–64]. Indeed, the main reason for the retainment, adduced by D. Oates and J. Oates, has been that “the unquestionably Khabur ware categories of shouldered beakers, jars, carinated bowls and grain measures .... are found in good Mitanni contexts” as well [Oates, Oates & McDonald 1997: p.67]. However, although some such specific Mitanni types as Nuzi ware and red-edged bowls are recognizable<sup>41)</sup>, it is certain that “to what extent painted Mitanni types should be classed as Khabur ware remains as much a matter of definition and usage as inherent logic”, as is also suggested by D. Oates and J. Oates [Oates, Oates & McDonald 1997: p.67].

There arises another problem, which is certainly concerned with drinking vessels relevant to the conventional discussion of a later variety of Khabur ware<sup>42)</sup>.

37) For the details of this discussion, see Postgate, Oates & Oates 1997: p.54.

38) See also Postgate, Oates & Oates 1997: p.54, on which they write that “the ‘interface’ between Old Babylonian and Mitanni cannot be clearly distinguished on the basis of pottery alone”.

39) It is also said that no clear typological break between the two wares is found [Postgate, Oates & Oates 1997: p.54].

40) This is also demonstrated by ceramic evidence from the Saddam (Eski Mosul) Dam Salvage Project area [Oguchi 1997a: pp.228–229]. In addition, as has already been suggested [Postgate, Oates & Oates 1997: p.54], it is true, also in this area, that the ware-fabric of white-on-dark painted Nuzi ware, which is composed of various types, varies in vessel size and function.

41) Postgate, Oates & Oates 1997: p.54.

42) For an argument against this, see also Oguchi 1997b: p.196.



The ceramic evidence from Rimah suggests that undecorated beakers including shouldered ones occur in early Old Babylonian levels, while band-painted, shouldered beakers occur abundantly in late Old Babylonian levels, as represented by the material of the so-called “Late Old Babylonian ‘kitchen’”, level 6a in site C [Postgate, Oates & Oates 1997: p.55]. The shouldered beakers from the early levels obviously include the “eversible-necked/rimmed shoulder cup” type which is however undecorated [Postgate, Oates & Oates 1997: Pl.73]; and the “Late Old Babylonian” shouldered beakers include band-painted, “eversible-necked/rimmed shoulder cups” [*ibid.*: Pl.75] and band-painted, “tall-necked shoulder cups”<sup>43)</sup> [*ibid.*: e.g. Pl.74:785], i.e., two types of Hrouda’s “younger” Khabur ware. Also at Rimah, undecorated, straight-sided beakers with small footed pedestal bases, which are described in the present article as “open-form goblets”, occur in Mitanni levels [Postgate, Oates & Oates 1997: e.g. Pl.67:656–658], and band-painted examples of such a type, though with nipple bases, occur in Middle Assyrian contexts [*ibid.*: e.g. Pl.67:649,652,653–654]. The occurrence of nipple-based “open-form goblets”, including band-painted examples, are to a large extent confined to Middle Assyrian levels, in which, as in Mitanni levels, footed examples also occur [Postgate, Oates & Oates 1997: p.69]. In addition, it is noted at Rimah that none of the securely stratified Nuzi ware examples has been found before the initial Mitanni levels of the site [Postgate, Oates & Oates 1997: p.56]. On the other hand, the ceramic evidence from D. Oates’s area HH at Brak suggests that the band-painted, “eversible-necked/rimmed shoulder cup” type of Hrouda’s “younger” Khabur ware, with a button base (or a small ring base), occurs certainly in late Old Babylonian level 8<sup>44)</sup>, considered approximately contemporary with the so-called “Late Old Babylonian ‘kitchen’” at Rimah<sup>45)</sup>, and continues to occur throughout the pre-level 2 Mitanni levels, 7-3<sup>46)</sup> [Oates, Oates & McDonald 1997: p.65]. The band-painted “tall-necked shoulder cup” type of Hrouda’s “younger” Khabur ware also occurs in Mitanni levels at Brak [Oates, Oates & McDonald 1997: e.g. Fig.195:357, from levels 4-3]. Although an undecorated, straight-sided beaker, i.e., “open-form goblet”, comes from area HH Mitanni level 7<sup>47)</sup>, the band-painted “open-form goblet” type of Hrouda’s “younger” Khabur ware, with a small footed pedestal base, occurs in succeeding Mitanni levels [Oates, Oates & McDonald 1997: Fig.194:331–334]. Of importance is the fact that these “younger” Khabur ware types are absent from area HH level 2<sup>48)</sup>, represented by the destruction level of the final Mitanni palace occupation, where only the straight-sided “open-form goblet” type of Nuzi ware is found [Oates, Oates & McDonald 1997: p.71]. The earliest occurrence of securely stratified Nuzi ware has been appreciated in area HH Mitanni level 6, where straight-sided and shouldered beakers, identical with or similar to “younger” Khabur ware in shape, occur, decorated in Nuzi ware style, i.e., in white-on-dark paint [Oates, Oates & McDonald 1997: p.68]. In fact, white-on-dark painted Nuzi ware shares many vessel forms with Khabur ware, as the former shares stylistically similar bird motifs with the latter [Postgate, Oates & Oates 1997: p.54; Oates, Oates & McDonald 1997: p.68 and p.71]. The Brak evidence clearly proves that Nuzi ware is composed of not only such drinking vessel types but also jars, grain measures, bowls, etc. [Postgate, Oates & Oates 1997: p.54].

The problem, lying in the treatment of the “open-form goblet” type, is whether band-painted examples of this type occurring in Middle Assyrian contexts, particularly at Rimah, can be treated as

43) At Rimah, however, there is an exception as a band-painted, “tall-necked shoulder cup” of later occurrence, which came from Middle Assyrian level 3 of site C [Postgate, Oates & Oates 1997: Pl.74:780].

44) E.g. Oates, Oates & McDonald 1997: Fig.195:356.

45) Oates, Oates & McDonald 1997: p.21.

46) E.g. Oates, Oates & McDonald 1997: Fig.195:382, from level 4.

47) Oates, Oates & McDonald 1997: Fig.206:555.

Strictly speaking, area HH level 7 is regarded by D. Oates and J. Oates as a period between the end of the Old Babylonian period and the beginning of Mitanni domination [Postgate, Oates & Oates 1997: p.21 and p.34].

48) As an exception in level 2, however, there has been found a band-painted “open-form goblet” with a nipple-like base [Oates, Oates & McDonald 1997: Fig.194:330].



Date (B.C.)	Mallowan 1947		Hrouda 1957 <sup>4)</sup>	Kantor 1958	1965–67	Oates 1970	1972	
1900	Chagar Bazar 1  * <sup>1)</sup>	Brak H.H. 3-1	“Ältere” Khabur ware	(ŠA)	Rimah A	Rimah AS T.L3m- Kh  Kh	Rimah C	
1800	— ŠA — A				— (ŠA) — — ŠA <sup>5)</sup> —		— ŠA —	
1700	B				Khabur ware	Khabur ware <sup>6)</sup>  L.Kh <sup>7)</sup>		Khabur ware <sup>10)</sup>
	C							
1600	D	L.Kh <sup>3)</sup>						L.Kh/ E.Nuzi pottery
1500	E <sup>2)</sup>	Nuzi ware	“Jüngere” Khabur ware	Nuzi ware	T.Kh-M	Nuzi type <sup>8)</sup> pottery + Nuzi ware	C14 -ca. 1450B.C. <sup>11)</sup>	
1400				Mitannian ware (=Nuzi ware)	<sup>9)</sup>			
1300								
1200								

Fig. 6 Khabur ware chronologies proposed by authorities and suggested through excavations at sites.

< Abbreviations >

ŠA ..... Šamši-Adad I (ca. 1813–1781 B.C. on the middle chronology).

L.Kh ..... “late” Khabur ware.

T.Kh-M ..... “transitional Khabur-Mitannian” ware.

T.L3m-Kh ... transitional late 3rd millennium-Khabur pottery, suggested by J. Oates, for which she proposed a date of no later than the early 19th century B.C. [J. Oates 1970: p.17; see also D. Oates 1966: p.137]. This is concerned with area AS phase 3, now described as site A level 4 [Postgate, Oates & Oates 1997: p.27, and for the 1970 report, cf. p.53].

Kh ..... Khabur ware considered in stratigraphic contexts to be slightly earlier than the time of Šamši-Adad I [J. Oates 1970: p.17]. This also concerns area AS phase 3, now described as constituting site A level 4, together with the material which was found immediately below the original floor of the temple probably built at the time of Šamši-Adad I and which must date from the earlier part of his reign [Postgate, Oates and Oates 1997: p.23 and p.27].

L.Kh/E.Nuzi pottery ... “late Khabur/early Nuzi” type pottery, a term proposed by D. Oates, who believed that it might be dated ca. 1650–1550 B.C. [D. Oates 1972: p.85; see also *idem* 1976: p.xiii]. It came from one of the vaulted chambers overlying rooms II, X and XI of the palace (level 6), which are referred to as the “Late Old Babylonian” level, 6a, of site C in Postgate, Oates & Oates 1997 (p.36).

Notes on Fig.6

- 1) Mallowan considers that the initial appearance of Khabur ware may predate its first introduction at Chagar Bazar, i.e., a date of ca. 1800 B.C. given by internal textual evidence [1947: pp.82–83, and see n.1 on p.25]. He also suggests that the florescence of Khabur ware falls between ca. 1800 B.C. and ca. 1600 B.C. [1947: p.84, and cf. p.86].
- 2) Assigned to phase E was not only a Nuzi ware sherd found in “level 1” through the 1935 excavations [Mallowan 1936: Fig.27:20] but also Grave 204 containing three unpainted vessels [Mallowan 1947: p.250, no.5]. What matters there is the treatment of Khabur ware from the sub-surface, including straight/concave-sided beaker type painted vessels.
- 3) Mallowan 1947: p.225, no.19, on which the “late Khabur ware” example, overlapping with Nuzi ware in level 3, is



Date (B.C.)	Hamlin 1971	Stein 1984	Oates & Oates 1997	
1900			Rimah <sup>14)</sup>	Brak <sup>15)</sup> HH
1800	(ŠA) Khabur ware	“Older” (ŠA) Khabur ware	Early Khabur ware (ŠA) “Old Babylonian” Khabur ware	
1700		“Younger” <sup>12)</sup> Khabur ware		8 “LOB” Kh
1600			“Late Old Babylonian” Khabur ware (“LOB” Kh)	
1500		“Nuzi ware” <sup>13)</sup> Dark-painted Nuzi ware + White-painted Nuzi ware	“Mitanni” Khabur ware + Nuzi ware	7 16) 6 “Mitanni” Khabur ware including “younger” Kh Nuzi ware
1400				5 4
1300			Middle Assyrian pottery (MA)	3 2
1200				1 MA pottery

dated *ca.* 1600–1550 B.C. In a discussion on the dates of levels 3–1, Mallowan suggests a date of not later than 1550 B.C. for the beginning of level 3 [1947: p.79].

- 4) Hrouda 1957: the chronological table on p.45 (*cf.* the discussion of the dates for Khabur ware on pp.33–35).
- 5) D. Oates prefers a high chronology for the dates of Šamši-Adad I and, adopting Landsberger’s proposal, dates the Assyrian king in *ca.* 1852–1819 B.C.; the dates given accord with a calculation made on the basis of chronological statements of Middle Assyrian building inscriptions [1965: p.63 with n.6; 1966: p.123; 1967: p.71; see also 1968b: n.3 on p.27 and 1982: p.89]. But he later gives a date of *ca.* 1800 B.C., like Mallowan, using Smith’s middle chronology [1970: p.2; 1982: p.88].
- 6) D. Oates 1965: p.71, regarding the pottery of phase III of the temple site (now described as site A level 3).
- 7) D. Oates 1967: p.83, regarding the pottery from the latter part of phase III of the temple site. See also D. Oates 1966: p.138.
- 8) D. Oates 1965: pp.73–74, regarding the pottery of phase IIa of the temple site (now described as site A level 2a, the final Mitanni level). See also D. Oates 1966: p.138.
- 9) This limit corresponds to the end of phase II of the temple site, which D. Oates places in the mid-15th century B.C. [1965: p.78, but *cf.* p.74; 1966: p.123 and p.138 (*ca.* 1450 B.C.); 1967: p.71 (*ca.* 1475 B.C.)]. *Cf.* Carter 1965: p.45ff.
- 10) D. Oates 1976: p.xiii, suggesting that the pottery associated with the palace is Khabur ware.
- 11) D. Oates 1965: p.76, mentioning that above a barren accumulation of debris overlying the palace lies level 5, whose destruction level yielded the carbon sample (*cf.* Carter 1965: p.61). For the stratigraphy and the pottery after the destruction of the palace, see D. Oates 1965: p.77–79, *idem* 1968a: p.134 (*cf.* Carter 1965: pp.61–63) and D. Oates 1972: p.85, and further see Postgate, Oates & Oates 1997: p.37ff. as the final report.
- 12) & 13) They are those newly defined by D.L. Stein.
- 14) For the details, see Postgate, Oates & Oates 1997.
- 15) For the details, see Oates, Oates & McDonald 1997.
- 16) The construction of the Mitanni palace and temple, which is marked as level 6 in area HH.

[Any mistakes in this table are of my responsibility.]



Khabur ware, *i.e.*, the “younger” variety. It is a fact that in terms of political history, the application of the designation “Middle Assyrian” varies in date from site to site [Postgate, Oates & Oates 1997: p.56]<sup>49)</sup>. Thus in the case of retaining Hrouda’s “younger” Khabur ware concept, it is possible that at a site assigned to the earlier Middle Assyrian period, such band-painted examples, for instance with footed bases, are termed “Middle Assyrian” Khabur ware, while it is natural that at another site assigned to the latter part, contemporary with it, of the Mitannian period, they are termed “Mitanni” Khabur ware. Likewise, in this case, band-painted, nipple-based beakers/“open-form goblets” can be called “Middle Assyrian” Khabur ware<sup>50)</sup>. Irrespective of drinking vessels, the fact is that the decorative style itself of simple horizontal bands of paint continues into the Late Assyrian period<sup>51)</sup>.

### Concluding remarks

As we have seen, the views on later Khabur ware diverge, each with some problems unsolved. As for this later Khabur ware problem, the main points at issue still lie on (1) straight/concave-sided beaker type painted vessels, also called “grain measures” (Fig.1:1,2 and Fig.5:8,9), and (2) the three types of Hrouda’s “*jüngere*” Khabur ware, which are i) the band-painted “eversible-necked/rimmed shoulder cup” type (Fig.2: Group 2b), ii) the band-painted “tall-necked shoulder cup” type (Fig.2: Group 2a) and iii) the band-painted “open-form goblet” type (in particular with a small footed pedestal base) (Fig.2: Group 1). In conclusion, we now proceed to reassessing these vessel types most briefly from a chronological point of view. Also here the ceramic evidence from Tell al-Rimah and Tell Brak becomes important, which can be discussed in a chronological framework provided by epigraphic evidence.

As for the straight/concave-sided beaker type, we now know, on the evidence from Rimah, that there is a possibility that the painted type appears before Šamši-Adad I: at Rimah, the upper fill of AS4, part of area AS phase 3 (now also described as site A level 4), has yielded such a painted example in the form of a potsherd, although whether it is securely stratified material remains a problem<sup>52)</sup>. This example is decorated with narrow and broad horizontal bands, and solid and linear triangles [Postgate, Oates & Oates 1997: Pl.78:875]. Further, the Rimah evidence shows that the painted straight/concave-sided beaker type occurs abundantly in site A level 3, and that it also occurs in site C level 6 [Postgate, Oates & Oates 1997: Fig.38 on p.71]. Site C level 6 is dated between *ca.* 1775 B.C. and *ca.* 1750 B.C. on epigraphic ground [Postgate, Oates & Oates 1997: p.30]. At any rate, this evidence demonstrates that the painted type appears earlier than has been thought. Probably more significant is, however, the occurrence of distinctive bird motifs on this type of vessel, otherwise concerned with Kantor’s theory noted above. On the evidence from Rimah, the earliest appearance of straight/concave-sided beaker type vessels decorated with distinctive birds of paint seems to be in the Late Old Babylonian period<sup>53)</sup>: such bird motifs, the use of which are not confined only to this type, occur on vessels found in site C level 6a and also found associated with the latest level 3 floors of the temple sequence of site A [Postgate, Oates & Oates 1997: p.36]<sup>54)</sup>. Such bird-decorated vessels, including the straight/concave-sided beaker type, further occur more commonly in Mitanni levels at Rimah and Brak [Postgate, Oates

49) In sum, from the point of view of historical chronology, we know that the Mitannian period (the mid-16th to the early 13th century B.C.) overlaps in time with the Middle Assyrian period (*ca.* 1363–1076 B.C.).

50) See also note 10 and part of note 24 in the present article.

51) For example, see Curtis 1989: Fig.40:271–276, from the Assyrian site of Khirbet Qasrij after the collapse of Assyria in the late 7th century B.C., and Curtis & Green 1997: Fig.38:158, Fig.50:249, *etc.*, from Late Assyrian level 4 at Khirbet Khatuniyeh. For such a discussion, see Postgate, Oates & Oates 1997: p.53, illustrating Late Assyrian band-painted pottery with Pl.56:505, from site C level 1 at Rimah.

52) But it does not occur in site C level 7, dated to the time of Šamši-Adad I [Postgate, Oates & Oates 1997: Fig.38 on p.71].

53) See Postgate, Oates & Oates 1997: p.53, and Oates, Oates & McDonald 1997: p.71.

54) In this regard, D. Oates and J. Oates state that the pottery from site C level 6a “shows not only a gradual stylistic development from classic Old Babylonian to Mitanni Khabur ware but also the introduction of a number of features thought to be characteristic solely of the latter”, such as distinctive bird motifs [Postgate, Oates & Oates 1997: p.36]. Indeed, this statement is very important.



& Oates 1997: p.56; Oates, Oates & McDonald 1997: p.71]<sup>55)</sup>. These suggest that when this type of painted vessel, certainly included in the Khabur ware category, has bird motifs, it may become an indicator for later Khabur ware phases<sup>56)</sup>. As suggested by J. Oates<sup>57)</sup>, such distinctive bird motifs themselves, occurring on not only this type but also other vessel forms, may be marked as a feature of later Khabur ware, which is now otherwise labelled “Late Old Babylonian” and “Mitanni”. Although at Rimah, the unpainted version of this type occurs in Middle Assyrian contexts<sup>58)</sup>, they cannot be called Khabur ware, which is, needless to say, categorized as a class of painted pottery.

The band-painted “eversible-necked/rimmed shoulder cup” type most likely appears in the time of Šamši-Adad I or slightly later, at least by the end of Hammurabi’s reign, which is supported by the evidence from Tell Leilan and Kültepe<sup>59)</sup>. As noted above, this painted type continues to occur in late Old Babylonian and Mitanni levels at Rimah and Brak, except in Brak area HH level 2 from which Khabur ware is absent<sup>60)</sup>, including the straight/concave-sided beaker type and the bird-decorated types of Khabur ware. This shoulder cup type shows typological continuity with changes of base types chronologically appreciated. This proves that such band-painted shoulder cups should be treated as Khabur ware<sup>61)</sup>.

On the other hand, the earliest appearance of the band-painted “tall-necked shoulder cup” type is confirmed in the Late Old Babylonian period at Rimah, *i.e.*, in the contexts of pre-Nuzi ware, as noted above. Its occurrence before the appearance of white-on-dark painted Nuzi ware is also supported by evidence from the Saddam (Eski Mosul) Dam Salvage Project area<sup>62)</sup>. This type of band-painted shoulder cup further occurs in Mitanni levels at Brak, but is absent from Brak area HH level 2, also as noted above. Its later occurrence certainly lies in the same contexts as Nuzi ware, except in the final Mitanni level at Brak which has still yielded Nuzi ware.

Moreover, the band-painted “open-form goblet” type, with a small footed pedestal base, is likely to appear late in the contexts of pre-Nuzi ware, which is suggested by evidence from the Eski Mosul area<sup>63)</sup>. This type of footed goblet found in Brak area HH level 7, though undecorated, may be an indication of such earlier occurrence<sup>64)</sup>. This band-painted, footed type also occurs in the pre-level 2 Mitanni levels of area HH at Brak, also as noted above.

Thus the Brak evidence suggests that at least at the site, the three types of Hrouda’s “*jüngere*” Khabur ware terminate in fashion before area HH level 2, represented by the final occupation of the Mitanni palace (phase 2), dated in the first half of the 13th century B.C.<sup>65)</sup>, which is now considered to have been destroyed<sup>66)</sup> first by Adad-nirari I, between 1285 and 1280 B.C.<sup>67)</sup>, and subsequently by Shalmaneser I, not long after 1275 B.C.<sup>68)</sup>, *i.e.*, after his accession in 1274 B.C. D. Oates and J. Oates believe that Brak area HH level 5, as well as the collapse of the Mitanni phase 1 palace, dates from

55) For example, see Oates, Oates & McDonald 1997: Fig.201, and also see Postgate, Oates & Oates 1997: Pl.78:863 (from site C level 5b).

56) In this respect, the evidence from Tell Leilan of the occurrence of straight/concave-sided beaker type painted vessels with distinctive bird motifs in the acropolis-northeast area [Weiss 1985a: the illustration on p.13] becomes problematical. For this problem, see Oguchi 1997b: p.203.

57) See the text with note 35 of this article above.

58) See Postgate, Oates & Oates 1997: Pl.77:852–855,857,860.

59) See Oguchi 1997b: p.203 and *idem* 1998: p.129.

60) See also J. Oates 1990: p.146.

61) In this respect, the occurrence of cross-hatched triangle decoration on an example of this type from Chagar Bazar may be a matter of importance [Mallowan 1937: Fig.24:14, from area B.D. grave 93, assigned to the late phase of level 1].

62) Oguchi 1997a: p.199ff. See also Oguchi 1997b: Fig.1 on p.197.

63) Oguchi 1997a: pp.203–204. See also Oguchi 1997b: Fig.1 on p.197.

64) See note 47 in this article.

65) Oates, Oates & McDonald 1997: p.18.

66) Oates, Oates & McDonald 1997: pp.13–14.

67) Oates, Oates & McDonald 1997: p.153.

68) Oates, Oates & McDonald 1997: p.14 and p.78.



some time in the 15th century B.C. [Oates, Oates & McDonald 1997: p.21]. They also report that the pottery from level 5b has been found in good contexts, but that not all the ceramic examples recovered from the trenches of area HH are marked as securely stratified material [Oates, Oates & McDonald 1997: p.61]. At any rate, a clue to resolving this chronological problem of later Khabur ware lies in Brak area HH Mitanni levels 7-3. The latest examples of Khabur ware jars, pots and bowls reported at Brak come from area HH levels 4-3 in the form of potsherds [Oates, Oates & MacDonald 1997: *e.g.* Fig.190:203–204 (closed-form bowls), Fig.191:274 (a grain measure), and Fig.192:280, Fig.193:311 and Fig.195:383 (jars and pots), and Fig.201:459 (a bird-decorated grain measure)]. The latest examples of the band-painted “eversible-necked/rimmed” shoulder cup type reported come from area HH level 4 [Oates, Oates & McDonald 1997: Fig.195:351,382], and those of the band-painted “tall-necked shoulder cup” type reported, from area HH levels 4-3 [Oates, Oates & McDonald 1997: Fig.195:357,360]. As for the band-painted, footed “open-form goblet” type, the latest examples reported are from area HH levels 4-3/2 [Oates, Oates & McDonald 1997: Fig.194:331 (from a mix of levels 4-2 or levels 4-3) and Fig.194:333,334 (from level 4)]; and in the final material of the Mitanni palace (level 2) occur not only this type of Nuzi ware but also plain “open-form goblets” of this type [Oates, Oates & McDonald 1997: Fig.194:324–327 (undecorated) and Fig.196:389,391,394,396 (Nuzi ware)]. Certainly, there lie pieces of evidence suggesting a possibility that Khabur ware jars, pots and bowls, and Hrouda’s “*jüngere*” Khabur ware types, terminate approximately at the same time. One argues that the “tall-necked shoulder cup” and “open-form goblet” types of Hrouda’s “*jüngere*” Khabur ware should be disassociated from the category of Khabur ware [Oguchi 1997b: p.198]. The Brak evidence, however, precludes such an argument.

Furthermore, one believes that four Khabur ware phases, described as Khabur Ware Periods 1-4, can be established [Oguchi 1997a: p.29, pp.199–206 and p.260ff.; *idem* 1997b: p.196 with Fig.1 on p.197]. The later phases, *i.e.*, Khabur Ware Periods 3-4, are relevant to the matter in question. One of the ceramic indicators for Khabur Ware Period 3 is most likely to be Khabur ware with distinctive bird motifs, differentiated from the earlier bird motifs that occur on Khabur ware, for example, from stratum 4 at Tell Billa. The present evidence suggests that such bird motifs are marked as the new decorative style occurring on Khabur ware vessels including the straight/concave-sided beaker type of Khabur ware. White-on-dark painted Nuzi ware is a ceramic indicator for Khabur Ware Period 4<sup>69)</sup>, in which Khabur ware jars, pots and bowls, though decreasing in quantity, still occur. The Khabur ware varieties of the periods 3-4 may be represented by the terms “Late Old Babylonian” Khabur ware and “Mitanni” Khabur ware most recently proposed.

Perhaps more interesting is the distribution of “*jüngere*” Khabur ware outside the main Khabur ware distribution zone represented in Khabur Ware Period 2<sup>70)</sup>. In Khabur Ware Periods 3-4, Khabur ware vessels with distinctive bird motifs, the straight/concave-sided type of Khabur ware and the three types of Hrouda’s “*jüngere*” Khabur ware are distributed beyond the main distribution zone<sup>71)</sup>, as are white-on-dark painted Nuzi ware, whereas no other vessel forms of Khabur ware show such a “peripheral” distribution<sup>72)</sup>. Thus we are further confronted with an interpretative problem of ceramic

69) The so-called “face goblets” may be added to this as an indicator for Khabur Ware Period 4. The best example is that occurring at Brak in level 2 of area H.H. excavated by Mallowan [Mallowan 1947: Pl.XL]. Other sherd examples of “face goblets” are now known from Tell Fakhariyah [Kantor 1958: Pl.35/38:109, from floor 6 in sounding IX], Tell Billa [Kantor 1958: p.24 with n.11, an out-of-context sherd in stratum 2], and Tell Der Hall (level 2), a site in the Eski Mosul area.

70) For the main distribution zone of Khabur ware, see Oguchi 1997b: p.206 with Fig.2 (with an error, which was corrected in Oguchi 1998: Fig.1 on p.121).

71) The earlier occurrence at Kültepe of the band-painted “eversible-necked/rimmed shoulder cup” type is of course excluded from consideration.

72) However, there are exceptions, which are at Dinkha Tepe and Nuzi. Later phases of Dinkha Tepe period IV, considered contemporary with Khabur Ware Period 3, have yielded Khabur ware jars, pots and bowls. At Nuzi, a rim sherd of a Khabur ware jar/pot has come from pavement II of stratum IV of room H64 in the northwestern ridge (NWR) area [Starr 1937: Pl.75:N], which may possibly be contemporary with Khabur Ware Period 3. Stratum III of H64 in the same area, NWR, has yielded a Nuzi ware sherd [Starr 1937:



distribution.

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Pl.79:L], and the well of room X of stratum V in the city wall and related building (CW & RB) area has produced an Khabur ware jar [*ibid.*: Pl.70:B]. Since stratum V in the CW & RB area is probably contemporary with Khabur Ware Period 2 and since Nuzi ware occurs in the overlying stratum, III, of the NWR area, NWR stratum IV, postdating stratum V of the CW & RB area, is considered contemporary with Khabur Ware Period 3.



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